# Interviews with a range of people on the Community and its History since late 2002 in Harresaw kebele, Atsbi Wemberta wereda, East Tigray

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## The community and its leaders

###  Mapping the community

There are three kushets/sub-kebeles/villages (5 gots/hamlets) in the kebele. There were five kushets in 1995; but they were reduced to be three in 1998. The gots that are desirable for living are Endagebriel in kushet Ma’ekel and Endamariam Wu’o in kushet Lim’ate. Those places which are undesirable for living are kushet Harresaw and got Ekunta in kushet Ma’ekel. In 1995 the kebele administration was settled at kushet Lim’at, got Endamariam. Now, it has been transferred to Kushet Ma’ekel and has built an office which is central to all kushets. In 1995 there was one school which was 1-6; now there are two schools, one is 1-8 and the other one is 1-4. Besides, the health clinic has been upgraded to be a health centre and there is new health post. There was only one water point (hand pump) in 1995; now there are 9 water points and five of them are functional. In addition to this, there are water points and roof catchment (harvesting) in both schools and the health facilities.

With regard to roads, there are several rural roads that link the kushets with each other and the kebele with other neighbouring kebeles. There is not much change regarding the churches. There were nine churches at that time and there are nine at this time. There is no mosque.

### Community features

#### Terrain

The Harresaw kebele has up and down landscapes; where the community lives, the grassy/grazing lands and farming areas are relatively flat. The northern part of the kebele is bounded by rocky hills and the Harresaw kushet which is found along the border with Afar has escarpments. There is a river that starts from the kebele and flows down to Afar and a river that starts from G/kidan kebele and passes across the Harresaw kebele to Wukro. There is no lake other than the dam which was constructed in 1994. There are government-owned forests in two kushets and there are places protected for communal forests, grass for ploughing oxen, and private grass lands. Although most parts of the kebele are affected by erosion, the worst is kushet Harresaw.

#### Climate and weather

The climate of the kebele is highland/Dega. It is a drought-affected area which is caused by as’hayta (frost) and snowstorms. These problems have existed for a long time. The worst time when there was drought caused by as’hayta was in 2008/9. The hot wind that blows from the Afar area also affects the crops

#### Spatial patterns

Although there was no big change regarding villagisation since 2005 the newly emerging town which was founded in 1998 in kushet Ma’ekel, where land was distributed to landless youth to build residential houses, is growing. Besides, the area of farming land has increased as the land which was not being used before was re-allocated in 2008 & 2011 to landless youth. The average land size owned by a household is 1 hectare and the re-allocated land size is 1/4th (0.25) hectare. Those people who live in one got have close settlements. This means, the residences are not so scattered. The kushets are divided among gots. Out of the three kushets in the kebele, the two kushets have two gots but kushet Harresaw has no got. Most of the people have an average size of backyard farm. In addition, most of them have grass and farm land in other places.

Currently, there is no communal grazing land in the kebele. There are dry weather roads constructed by the FFW programme which link the kushets with each other and with other kebeles.

#### Farming technology

Most of the community is using already known farming techniques (which is still the traditional way as it used to be with oxen and the traditional farming equipment pulled by oxen. The equipments are moferna kenber, farming materials/ploughs which have different sizes, hoe and sickle. The grain is threshed by oxen and other domestic animals) in the community. In addition, some farmers use wet reserving technologies (Tyrijer and BBM). There is improvement in increasing the number of people who use fertiliser, improved seeds and pesticides because the community has started to produce even in the winter season using irrigation. Meanwhile, as the animal hybrid service has been started in 2008, the community has been benefiting and supplying hybrid cows, goats, sheep and chickens. There are no camels in the kebele.

#### Irrigation

There were 7 motors pumps in 2005 and at this time, there are 13 (9 of which use benzene and 4 use gasoline). Currently, the 2 pumps that use benzene and 4 pumps that use gasoline are functional. Their number has decreased because of the high price of benzene. Treadle pump has been introduced in 2002. There is no change regarding the gravity feed irrigation; there is only one dam. In 2005 there were 2 drip irrigations and now there are 10 and 6 of them are functional. Regarding ponds, there were 655; but their number has decreased over time because the community have been selling the plastics and have filled them with soil and used them for farming. There are 34 wells that are functioning and 27 are under construction. They are all quite new as digging wells started after 2005; there is no piped water that is used for irrigation.

#### Domestic technologies

There are three grinding mill machines, two are found at kushet Ma’ekel and one is found at kushet Li’mat. There were only two in 1997 EC. Most of the community use fuelwood; very few use gasoline for cooking. 6 years ago, a number of stoves that use gasoline were introduced. However, as the price of gasoline increased, the number of beneficiaries has decreased.

In 2005 G.C., the number of drinking water sources was 3 (excluding the one in the school). Now there are 9 drinking water points. However, the kushets which have scarcity of water use wells, ponds and reservoirs to drink from.

Water to wash clothes: people use water from wells and hand pumps to wash clothes. But in 2005 G.C., they were using it only from the river and dam water.

Stove used: at this time, the improved stove and modern technologies of avoiding soot using tubs are been introduced. In 2005 G.C, there was only the stove known as Lackech.

#### Drinking water

Currently, the kushets that are using drinking water from ponds, river, stream, reservoirs, and wells are the kushet of Harresaw and got Ekunta. The Harresaw School is using roof catchment water since 2010. The other community members have been drinking water from two hand-dug wells and 7 borehole hand pumps. 5 hand pumps are functioning. The other thing is that the youth have become beneficiaries to some extent since the time when the mineral water bottling industry started in Atsbi town in the last two years.

#### Balance of livelihood activities

There is better harvest production since last year and this year. Although it can’t feed for the whole year, it has been better than the situation in 2005 when it is compared in terms of selling livestock and honey, the daily income that is earned from PSNP and Emergency food Aid, daily labour. The income that is earned from the production of cash crops (trees and irrigation farms) has increased since 2005. Also, the culture of doing local work has been improved in that the community members are being engaged in paid farm and non-farm labour in the community which has created additional sources of income. As a result, the seasonal migration to Humera and other places that was common in 2005 has decreased at this time. The participation of the community in various trade activities has increased because shops and drink houses are expanding in the newly emerging town in the kebele. Although there had been permanent migration to Saudi from a long time ago, the numbers of migrants have increased due to the drought of 2008. As the best solution to pay credit is migration, almost all the youth are potentially willing to migrate.

#### Sources of cash from agriculture

There is no enset, coffee or chat in Harresaw and there is no habit of selling milk or meat. Now, the main sources of income are selling eucalyptus, irrigation vegetables, roots and cactus. Meanwhile, butter and hides have increasing value and those who keep more livestock benefit more. The number of people who are planting eucalyptus trees and cactus is increasing over time. As a result, their subsistence and market income has increased.

#### Off-farm and non-farm work opportunities

Currently, there are no men who work as household servants; but there are not more than three paid shepherds. As the agricultural daily labour work has been increasing, there are about 70 agricultural daily labourers. About 30 people participate in buying and selling butter, honey, and livestock to the towns. There are about 10 people who are engaged in selling local drinks and petty trade.

Skilled work (Male): there are 3 individuals who are engaged in covering iron sheets (to roofs), and cementing walls, two tailors, 2 metal workers, 4 embroidery makers, 3 carpenters, 5 builder and one weaver who is found at Adigrat prison.

Regular employment: there are 6 people from the kebele who are employed permanently at the kebele. Most of the people who are engaged in daily labour are landless youth; but there are also people who are engaged in non-farm activities and they are more than 50 in number. Although 25% of the FFW programme participants are youth, their number is decreasing because a number of youth are migrating to Saudi.

There are three girls that work for the government employees as house servants. The numbers of women who are engaged in weeding during summer season and in other daily labour are about 10%. There are 15 women who are engaged in private business such as tea rooms, shops and drink houses.

Skilled work (Female): there are 10 hairdressers, 4 trained TBAs, 2 permanent and 3 temporary employees.

There are 5% who are involved in digging wells as daily manual labourers. All women are participants of FFW other than those who do not participate due to age, illness, maternity leave, etc.

#### Migration opportunities and remittances

Males do seasonal migration for about 1-5 months to Adigrat, Humera and Wukro areas for farming activities. Although they were earning much money from the work, the number of migrants has come down because the daily labour at the kebele pays well. There are a few people who went to Atsbi and Dera towns for temporary construction work (for 2-15 days). The longer-term is not so common in Ethiopia.

Although most of the people go to Saudi through illegal processes, people have started to go through legal processes. Those who go legally may stay 4-5 years; but those who go through illegal processes have no specific time because they might be deported even within a month. All those who go to Saudi are engaged in farming (irrigation farms), herding, construction, trade and human trafficking. Those who stay there long send money to their families so that they pay back their debts; they also come back and buy houses in the towns. Thus, the number of migrants has increased during the last three years.

Female-Seasonal and Temporary: there is almost no seasonal and temporary migration of females. Longer term in Ethiopia: previously, those women who have had difficulties with their families were going to the towns and were working as house servants. Now, this situation doesn’t occur. Regarding international migration, the legality or illegality of their migration is similar to the males. The time when they stay (legally or illegally) there and the amount of remittances they send is similar to that of males. Most of them do work as house servants

#### Independence of the farming economy

The best harvest season was 2010 when an average production that could feed for 6 months was harvested. The gap was covered by safety net, daily labour wage and selling livestock and eucalyptus. The worst drought season was 2008 when the entire crop was lost and when there was no food even for the animals. Thus, the government provided food aid and animal-feed was distributed by loading trucks. Last year, 50% of the community was reliant on food aid for survival which includes the participants of the FFW. The remaining 50% of the community could survive by selling livestock and by the remittances they get from their children abroad.

#### Effects of inflation

Male research officer: The price of fertiliser which was 150 birr/50 kg in 2007 increased to 600 birr in 2011. The prices of improved seeds and pesticides including the prices of all agricultural inputs have increased to double and more. For example, the price of edible oil which was 12 birr/litre in 2007 increased to 75 birr/litre. Then, it came down to 30 birr/litre after the government took corrective measures. The price of a Mahresha (plough) which was 30-40 birr has been increased to 100-120 birr, the transport cost Atsbi to Dera was 3 birr, now it is 10 birr, the wage rate also has increased from 15-20 birr to be 40-60 birr for men and for females it was 10-15 birr and has increased to be 25-35 birr. The increase in prices occurred not only in inputs but also in outputs. The price inflation has benefited 70-75% of the rural community because although the price of input items increases, the farmers sell more than they buy. These are the ones who have farm land and livestock.

Those people who are affected by the price inflation, 25-30% of members of the community, are landless youth, those who do not breed livestock, and those employed. This is because they have more consumption than what they earn.

Female research officer: Generally speaking there is a huge increase in prices of inputs. The price of improved seeds has increased significantly in the last four years. The price of 50 kg of improved wheat which was about 190 birr four years ago is now 390 birr. The price of improved beans and peas which used to be 350 birr for 50kg has increased to 700 birr currently. One kg of onion seed was 1 birr and 50 cents four years ago, now it has reached 4 birr and 50cents. There is an increase in price of inputs at every market day. Many people still buy improved seeds because there is also increase in what they produce.

There is an increase in the price of fertilisers in the last four years. Four years ago it was 350 birr for 50 kg of DAP, now it has increased to 630 birr. Four years ago the price of 50 kgs of urea fertiliser was 250 birr, now it has increased in to 590 birr. The prices have reached this stage by increasing over time. Many people buy fertiliser hoping to get better production which helps them to pay the cost of fertiliser. The use of pesticide is not common in the tabia.

The price of outputs has also increased significantly in the last four years.

*Table 1 Output price comparison table*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N | Type  | Four years ago | Price In current year |
| 1 | Barley 50kg | 250 birr | 520 birr |
| 2 | Big ox | 3,000 birr | 12,000 birr |
| 3 | Big sheep | 600 birr | 1,200 birr |
| 4 | White honey 1kg | 30 birr | 120 birr |

Increase in price of outputs has helped those people who produce diversified products. Many people are becoming interested in the production of honey.

There is a huge price increase in bought foods when compared to the situation four years ago.

*Table 2 Comparison of prices of bought food*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N | Item | Price four years ago | Current price |
| 1 | Onions (1kg) | 2 birr | 8 birr |
| 2 | Tomatoes (1kg) | 1 birr | 17 birr |
| 3 | Peas kik (husk removed) (1kg) | 5 birr | 22 birr |
| 4 | Oil (litre) | 15 birr | 36 birr |
| 5 | Coffee (1kg) | 28 birr | 80 birr |
| 6 | Sugar (1kg) | 10 birr | 17 birr |
| 7 | Salt bar (ganfur) | 4 birr | 26 birr |

Even though the price of foodstuffs has risen the community members have increased their consumption because the price of products has also increased. The variety of food that community members consume has increased. There is increased use of because community members replaced butter with oil. The consumption of oil increased because butter is expensive.

There is a big increase in the price of household goods. Regardless of the increase in price of household goods the number of community members who buy them has increased over time.

*Table 3 Comparison of prices of household goods*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N | Item | Price four years ago | Current price |
| 1 | Iron pot | 24 | 85 |
| 2 | Plastic bucket | 15 | 35 |
| 3 | Circular tray | 22 | 35 |

Currently there is no direct transport from Harresaw to other towns like Dera and Atsbi. The main road is found after 30 minutes’ walk from Harresaw. Even after walking to the main road there is no daily transport, it is only on market days: on Tuesday market day at Dera and Saturday market day at Atsbi. Sometimes there is also transport from Atsbi on Friday. Previously the transport from Harresaw to Atsbi was 5 birr and it was 6 birr from Atsbi to Wukro. Currently the transport cost to from Harresaw to Atsbi is 10-12 birr there is not known tariff. The transport cost from Atsbi to Wukro is 20 birr. Transport has become common recently. At this time there are still some people who go to Atsbi on foot.

There is an increase in the amount of money paid for wage labour. It was 7 birr four years, ago now it has reached 35 birr. This rate is when the daily labourers are given lunch and dinner by the employer in addition to the wage. The wage rate without lunch and dinner is 45 birr.

Four years ago the price of kerosene for lamps was 7 birr, now it has reached 35 birr per litre. In relation to this the milling cost for 50 kg of grain was 7 birr now it has increased to 24 birr. Children’s clothing and school materials have also increased in price in the past four years.

#### Household wealth inequalities

The rough percentage of better off households is 25%.Those households can support themselves, they use modern technology and they have two oxen, they have more than 15 sheep and they have a hybrid cow. Those people who have family members in Saudi Arabia do not have visible assets. But there is information that they keep cash in the bank, and they also buy houses in nearest towns. Roughly there are about 120 people living in Saudi Arabia. The migration started in 2007.The rough percentage of worse off households is 25%.The worse off households are those who do not have labour for farming activities, and female headed households who bring up children alone. Others grouped in worse off include landless who are those who migrated for labour work and did not succeed.

There is no one in the kebele who is known as a very rich person. There are about ten people who might be considered as rich and about 50 people who might be considered as middle. The rest are poor, very poor and destitute. The wealth and household goods of the rich household are 2 oxen, 2 cows, donkey or mule, 4-5 beehives, about 15 sheep, some quintals of grain, no debt from the government, they have house/land in the town, tape/radio, iron bed, mat, modern blanket, cupboard for clothes, etc. The source of their wealth is the remittances that their children send from Saudi, they have big and fertile farm land, irrigation, own land where there is water stream for grass and for farming and if they do animal fattening business.

Middles are those who have one ox, one cow, 3-5 sheep, no debt, and have some household items. The source of wealth is because they work hard to use the available resources properly.

Poor and very poor are those who have few sheep and chicken, get few farm products annually, own infertile/small plot of land, have debt, sleep in animal’s skin and if there household items, they are of poor quality.

Destitute are those who are always dependent on government aid, have no land or can’t plough their own land due to problems related to age or health, have no livestock, and have old household goods. The destitute survive by participating in the safety net programme and daily paid activities.

The number of people who improve their livelihood has been increasing over time since ten years back. This is because people sell eucalyptus trees, cash crops from irrigation, and grass (those who don’t have livestock), they have been engaged in daily local as well as international labour, and selling and eating cactus fruits. If the severe drought of 2008 hadn’t happened, great improvements would have been achieved.

#### Status differences

The community that is found in the kebele are Tigrayans and are followers of the Orthodox Church only. There is no clan difference. There are only two metal workers and there are only two households that are considered as “slaves” by the community. Otherwise, there is no other means of status difference. There is no economic difference between these people and the community and they have smooth relationship. They participate in all kinds of social life in the community as equal to the other members of the community. However, they don’t have marriage relationships with other community members. They choose their marriage partners from some other places. Rarely, some community members (usually men) have children with members of these groups without getting married.

#### Vulnerable people

There are about 28 people who are disabled due to natural cases and 8 with war injuries. These people have hearing, sight, and movement problems and are physically unable to work. During the last ten years the number of disabled people has reduced because of vaccination and absence of war. Most of them own land and are beneficiaries of the direct support aid. In addition, those with war injuries get free medical services. They get retirement (pension/board) payments. In 2003 EC an NGO called ‘Asira Metira/Adonay’ provided them with credit services. In addition to this, although the name of the organisation has not been known, two handicapped individuals received wheelchairs in 2009 and 2010.

There 8 individuals who are considered as mentally retarded people by the community. Two of them are really mentally ill and dangerous for the community; the other six have difficulty in communicating and interacting normally with the community but are not dangerous. Among these, only one was born within the last ten years. Their problem is that they can’t conform to the social life with the community. They are protected by their family members so that they don’t harm themselves or get lost.

There are over 100 old people who need food support from the government. They can’t participate in the work because they are too old to move and work. So, if they have children, they do the work for them.

Double orphaned children are about 10 and there are over 150 children who are single orphaned. Their parents died during the war ten years back and recently due to unsafe illegal migration to Saudi. The cause of parents’ death in war has decreased. However, the death of parents due to unsafe illegal travel to Saudi is increasing. Those orphaned children, especially those children whose mother has died are exposed to labour exploitation and are not sent to school at the proper age. Before the project of World Vision phased out of the wereda it was providing some support to some orphans.

573 of the total 1124 households in the kebele are female-headed households (51%). Although the number of female-headed households due to war has decreased, the number of female-headed households whose husbands died when they tried to go to Saudi illegally is increasing. Although the female-headed households own land, as they don’t have any person who can plough their land, they share it out. Otherwise, they are forced to pay to hire paid labourers. They have economic problems in sending their children to school. Perhaps they get labour support during farming season if they have relatives nearby.

There are two families of craft workers, two families of “slaves”, there are three child herders, and three house servants. To be hired by individuals as a house servant is a recent change in the community.

The child labourers are vulnerable to school dropout.

Although the number of agriculture labourers differs from time to time, they are about 60-70. This number has increased in the past years because working in local jobs has been common.

Sex Workers: although it is not clearly identified, there are five women who are suspected as CSWs. Their number decreased due to the fear of HIV/AIDS. As they sell suwa (local drink) their household items are broken, they are beaten, and they are disturbed when the customers fight each other. They are discriminated against by the community and there is no one willing to marry them. They use condoms to prevent HIV/AIDS. With the advice and support of the women’s affairs office and women’s association, they are told to take loans from the women’s package and improve their life. There are those who have done so.

### Households in the community

The total population of Harresaw is 5857; 2882 (49.2%) are males and 2975 (50.8%) are females. In terms of households, 551 are male-headed households and 573 are female-headed households. The average size of the household is 6. In households where the husband and wife are there, mostly, it is the man who becomes head of the household. Most of the time, married couples live separately from their parents; however, sometimes they may live with the family of the husband or wife.

### Mapping the community’s links with other communities

#### Rural linkages

The community has marriage, religious and cultural linkages with all the neighbours except the Afar.

Market links: all consumable items and household utensils are bought from the markets in Atsbi and Dera. From the town called Kuneba (Afar), such items as salt and livestock are bought. And factory products and shop items are taken to Afar. In addition, honey, dairy products, wood and livestock are taken to Atsbi and Dera.

In Harresaw, students who are 1-8 go to Agewo School in Ruba Feleg kebele and those who are 9-10 go to Dera; while those 11-12 grades go to Atsbi. There are 1-8 grade students that come to Dera School (Harresaw kebele) from Hadinet kebele. There are beneficiaries of the health centre in Harresaw from Afar, G/kidan, Ruba Feleg and Hadinet kebeles. Meanwhile, the community of Harresaw goes to the wereda for court services, to get legal documents, services from police and administration and to get medical services.

There has been conflict with neighbouring kebeles, except with Hadnet kebele, due to land related, forest and grass land issues. There was a time when people killed each other in conflicts with Afar and G/kidan kebele. Still there are rare conflicts although not as bad as in the past. When such kinds of conflicts arise, first the community elders interfere and try to resolve them. If the case is beyond their mandate, the wereda administrations come and discuss the case with the two parties.

#### Urban linkages

**Dera:** the community of Harresaw sells livestock, dairy products, honey and wood to Dera and buys factory products, consumable items, shoes and clothes from Dera market. The journey from Harresaw kebele to Dera is about one hour walking; and from kushet Harresaw to Dera is 1:15 hrs. There is a car road after about 20 minutes’ walk from Harresaw to Dera along the way from Atsbi to Dera. However, as it is very close, the community prefers to walk on foot and not to use transportation. There is no time when the way is disconnected due to flooding except that the gorges fill when there is heavy rain and that only means to wait for a few hours.

Atsbi: the reason why the community of Harresaw goes to Atsbi is just for marketing, for meetings at wereda level, training, to finalise cases that have to be seen at wereda level, for medical services as well as for schooling (students who are grade 11-12, for preparatory classes). It takes 2:30hrs-3:00hrs on foot and it is possible to get transport along the road that goes from Atsbi to Dera. But that is possible only on the market days of the towns which are Saturday and Tuesday. It takes 45 minutes- 1:00hour by car and the charge is 10 birr for one person/one way. Although it is a rural road, as there are bridges along the rivers, it is not disconnected. The community has contacts with various groups and individuals in Atsbi depending on their interests.

#### International linkages

Most of the Diaspora are found in Saudi Arabia while some live in America. The first Diasporas that went to Saudi were in 1985 that went through Eritrea due to the famine. The first Diasporas that went to America were also during the same year due to the famine and went through Sudan. Those who live in Saudi are engaged in irrigation activities, construction, looking after livestock; and the females work as house servants. About the Diasporas that live in America, there is information that females are engaged in washing clothes and caring for children but there is not much information about the males’ jobs. On average, 400-500 people go to Saudi Arabia every year, including those who are deported and go back within the same year. But only one or two individuals who have relatives in America go there every year. Most of the people who go to America have legal visas; but most of the people who go to Saudi Arabia have no legal visa. Most of these migrants are landless youth and school dropouts. Some of them are farmers. The Diasporas send remittances to their families and most of the time it is used to pay debts. There are people who go through legal processes and stay for five years; but there are also some who go through illegal processes and are deported within one month.

### Notable people living in the community

#### Community elders

Male research officer

Seven community elders were named. These people are respected by the community and have acceptance. These are acknowledged as members of the peace reconciliation committee by the kebele administration and the community. They are given notebooks where they register their activities by the kebele administration. Their main role is: to mobilise the community to create peace and strive to work, and to resolve conflicts between individuals, kebeles and sub-kebeles. In addition to being community elders, members of this committee have the status of being model farmers, religious leaders, knowledgeable people. They discuss and report their activities (reconciliations and decisions they have made) to the kebele administration, kebele cabinet and kebele justice and security.

The members of the community elders are known for their good deeds and have acceptance. They are also model farmers, religious leaders, organisers of the Meskel feast, members of the kebele council and are knowledgeable people in the kebele.

Female research officer:

 In tabia Harresaw when a woman makes a feast she prepares different spices and other necessary things to cook stew and to brew siwa but she does not prepare them by herself. She invites old women who are locally known as abeyti adi wehale (skilled elders). Then these skilled old women go to the feasts in the preparation and they tell the right combination of spices and which comes first in the preparation of siwa and stew.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activity in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks? |
| Traditional medical practitioner | Cures skin infection | Well known skilled woman in cooking and brewing local alcoholic drink called siwa  | Neighbours |
| Traditional practitioner | Removes sticks or other things from eye. | Well known skilled woman in cooking and brewing local alcoholic drink siwa. | Women's association. |
| Well known skilled woman in cooking and brewing local alcoholic drink siwa  | She is invited to various ceremonies and she tells the right combination of spices\* | No other elite status | Neighbours |

#### Clan leaders

No clan system in the tabia

#### Religious leaders

Six Orthodox Christian priests were named. Their main duty is to teach the community on religious as well as public holidays wearing their religious clothes, and to be faithful in marriage. They announce the contributions to the church, manage the income and expenses of the church, and they mobilise the community, together with government bodies, to reduce religious holidays and to work hard. The religious leaders also participate in the reconciliation and kebele administrative activities. They contact the wereda betekhnet, the kebele administration and kebele community.

The religious leaders are from the churches, priests and church leaders in the kebele. In addition, they have been and are serving at various levels of kebele administrative positions.

#### Other community-specific customary leaders

Previously, Iddir was not known in the kebele. It is been introduced by the development groups. Currently, the community-specific customary leaders who are the organisers of the Meskel feast (celebration of the finding of the true cross), include two priests, a sergeant, and two other men. Their main responsibility is to register the amount and kind of promises by the followers, to collect and do necessary preparations and coordinate the Meskel feast. In addition, they provide credit to the community from the money that is remaining after celebrating the feast. Three leaders serve as chairman, secretary and cashier.

In addition to the coordinators of the Meskel feast, there are coordinators of funeral ceremonies. These are a chairman, secretary and treasurer. Their main duty is to coordinate the community to bring food and drink to the funeral house and to serve people who come for the funeral from other far places. These people are selected from religious leaders, model farmers, community elders and knowledgeable men in the community. They perform their duties in collaboration with the got (hamlet) and kushet (sub-kebele) community members.

Social positions: the members of the Meskel feast coordinators are representatives of religious leaders, model farmers and members of the party.

#### Rich successful farmers

Male research officer: Eleven model farmers in the kebele were named, including two sergeants. They mobilise the community to improve their attitudes, work hard, improve their life and be models like them. They have been trained about modern farming system, about how to use farm inputs at wereda and zone levels. They have been participating in development activities actively. In addition, they play leading roles and participate in the committees that are found in the kebele. As rich successful farmers, they collaborate and work with the kebele administration and Development Agents.

Social positions: these people are models to the community and are known as members of the kebele council and members of the party.

Female research officer

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks? |
| Rich successful farmer. She is a wife of rich farmer. she has beehives, good grain production, cattle and sheep. | She makes feasts and feeds the poor. | No other status. | No network |
| Rich successful farmer. She is a wife of rich farmer. She has a pair of oxen; she has beehives, good production, sheep and goats. | She makes Abune Aregawi feast and feeds the poor and the rich.  | No other status. | No network |

#### Traders, businessmen, delalas

Male research officer: Ten traders, businessmen, and delalas of the kebele were named. Among these are the judge of the social court and members of the youth and women’s associations. They have opened shops and sell items that the community demands, they make business by moving from place to place, and one of them rents and maintains bicycle, and shines and repairs shoes.

Female research officer

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks? |
| Business woman | Sells food | No other elite status | No network |
| Business woman (she sells siwa, she sells milk) | She teaches the community that they can attain better status by starting from small things. | She is model farmer | Tabia cabinets, women's association |

#### Educated opinion leaders

Male research officer: the people, who have a religious school background and modern education and who are fast to accept new changes and mobilise the community include 2 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 2 priests, a corporal, and three others. Most of these are members of the party and religious leaders. They advise and explain to the community about any environmental issues, new development systems and government policies. Their network is with kebele officials and the community.

Social positions: these have better modern as well as religious education, have had exposure to other places, and are ex-fighters and religious leaders. And they still are serving as religious leaders and in the party leadership.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activities in the community | What elite status do they hold? | Who is in their networks? |
| Women‘s affairs office | Support to strengthen women's association, she works for the equality of women | She is known for the high use of irrigation. | She is in the tabia cabinet.She is in the network of women's association and women's league. |

#### Women’s leaders

Male research officer; these include the chairwoman of the kebele Women’s Association, the vice-chair, kebele Women’s Affairs, kebele finance, and there are 9 women who work as women’s association chairwomen, cashier and secretary, 3 in every sub-kebele. The main activity of these women leaders is to sensitise women’s groups about the unfairness and oppression against women that have to be avoided. They collect membership contributions, they mobilise women to participate in development activities, they collaborate with the health extension workers and traditional birth attendants to coordinate mother’s and children’s vaccination, they contribute money to help any members of the association in trouble and they participate in the identification process of safety net beneficiaries. These women are also participants in the kebele council, kebele cabinet, kebele women’s league and are members of the political party. They have links with the kebele administration as well as with the women in the kebele, wereda women’s association and other respective sectors.

Female research officer

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activities in the community | Other elite statuses? | Who is in their network? |
| Tabia women's association chair woman | Strengthen women's association of the tabia, women to be engaged in women's association. She works for the accomplishment of health activities at the community. This includes construction of latrines, clean water and vaccination. | No other elite status | She is volunteer in health activities. |
| Tabia women League chair woman | She organises the league and makes people to be organised in league association, she makes them to pay contributions | No other elite status | No network |

#### Political activists

Male research officer: the members of the kebele political structure (meseretawi wudabe) are 3 lieutenants, a sergeant, a corporal and two others. The main duty of these people is to sensitise the community about the objectives of the political party, to mobilise the community to vote for TPLF/EPRDF in times of election and to reject opposing parties. They recruit new members of the political party and they work for and play role model in implementing government policies. In addition to this, they participate in the kebele council and various kebele administration works. They have links with wereda as well as kebele wudabe and propaganda offices and with members of the political party in the kebele.

Social positions: these are ex-fighters of TPLF and soldiers and are now serving in membership and leadership positions of the party in the kebele.

Female research officer:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activities in the community | What other elite statuses do they hold? | Who is in their networks? |
| Leader of women party members. | Telling women to pay debt, convening women to be party members,Telling women to double their production. | She is cabinet member, she is vice chairperson, women's association of tabia Harresaw  | The tabia administration. |

#### Kebele Cabinet

Male research officer:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  Name | Social Position |
| Lieutenant  | Kebele Chairman |
|  | Kebele v/c & Propaganda |
|  | Agriculture & Rural Dev’t (NRM DA) |
|  | Public Relations |
| Corporal  | Security and Admin. Affairs |
|  | Youth Affairs |
|  | Women’s Affairs |
|  | Finance and Economic Dev’t |
|  | Justice |
| Teacher  | Head Teacher |
|  | Water Resources |
|  | Wudabe/Aderejajet |
|  | Health (HEW) |
|  | Social Affairs |

Kebele Cabinet: the main duty of the kebele cabinet is to implement the plans, programmes and development interventions that are approved by the kebele council, prepare detailed development work plans, present the plans to the kebele council for approval, follow up and monitor the implementation of the activities, mobilise the community to participate in development activities and lead and coordinate the sector activities at the kebele, and keep peace and security in the kebele, etc. The kebele cabinet members are members of the kebele council and most of them are sector heads. The accountability of the kebele cabinet is to the kebele council and wereda cabinet.

Social positions: These are members of the kebele council and members of the party in addition to their positions at kebele cabinet and kebele offices.

Female research officer:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Social position | Main activities in the community | Other elite statuses? | Who is in their networks? |
| Meseretawi wudabe(organising position in party) | Organising women to be party members | none | Tabia administration |
| Women’s affairs | MeseretawiWudabe(organising position in party) | She is known for the high use of irrigation. | Tabia administration |
| Women's association  | Strengthen women's association of the tabia, women to be engaged in women's association. She works for the accomplishment of health activities in the community. This includes construction of latrines, clean water and vaccinations. | None | She is volunteer in health activities. |
| Health extension worker | Teaching the community about health and working at the health post.  | No. | Tabia administration |
| Finance worker | She controls the income and expenditures of the tabia | No. | Tabia administration |

#### Other leaders

In addition to the above mentioned groups' leaders; there are development groups and network leaderships. They are too many to mention the name of all here. Their main duty is to implement the rules that come down from the kebele, to mobilise the community to participate in development interventions, to mobilise people with debts to pay back their debt, etc. Most of the members of the networks and development groups are members of the ruling party. They implement activities at community level by contacting the members of the kebele cabinet and work-related staff. In addition to these, there are three commanders of militia in the kebele. There is one militia commander in each sub-kebele to keep peace and order in the community. They are accountable to the kebele administration and security as well as to the wereda militia office.

Social positions: these are leaders of the development groups and networks in the kebele, model farmers and strong members of the party.

#### Kebele manager

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| M | Harresaw | 4 years |

#### Head teacher

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| 27 | M | Golgol Neale | 3 months |

#### Health Extension Worker 1

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| 32 | F | G/kidan | 2 years |

#### Health Extension Worker 2

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| 25 | F | Harresaw | 3 months |

#### Development Agent Crops

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| 28 | M | Adi Mesanu | 6 Years |

#### Development Agent Livestock

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| 28 | M | Hadnet | 4 months |

#### Development Agent NRM

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| 32 | M | Hadnet | 10 months |

#### Vet

None

#### Others

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Name/No. | Age | Sex | Place of origin | Time in community |
| Head teacher 2 | G/medhn Arefe | 27 | M | Golgol Neale | 3 months |
| Teachers and school staffs | 38 people |  |  |  |  |
| Health Workers + Supportive Staffs | 14 people | - | - | - | - |

Appreciation by the community: most of the government employees in the kebele that have been there for a long time are appreciated and are accepted by the community. This is because the community evaluates the performance of these people in a timely way and those who are not accepted are dismissed from their positions. Thus, those that are currently in position are those who have good acceptance by the community. For example, in 2011, there were two government employees who were dismissed from their positions because of their poor performance. But the others have been hired recently so it is not possible to talk about them.

## Important events since 2005

### Crisis events

The worst drought that happened in tabia Harresaw since 2005 was in 2008. Rain should have come by 15th of June 2008 but there was no rain until February 2009.This resulted in massive death of cattle, goats and sheep. Significant numbers of people were also affected by famine. At that time there were people who got oedema. About 30 people died due to hunger. People who were more vulnerable to the effects of drought were old people and people who were affected by various kinds of illness. Those who were not able to resist hunger for longer time died. Massive migration among the youth took place as a means to cope with the famine. The youth aged 18-30 migrated to Afar and Saudi Arabia. Those who were not strong enough to migrate to other places suffered a lot in the drought. Orphans who were aged 13 migrated to the nearest towns like Atsbi and ended up in the streets. The female children got employed as servants in tea rooms and mill houses found in other towns.

The government took measures to tackle the problems caused in the community by drought. Since there was nothing to eat even for animals the government brought husk and straw for livestock. The government support came in February which was very late for the community members. The food handouts for the community came through various channels though they were all from government sources. One of the aid channels was through federal, second through emergency aid and the third one was through PSNP. People were categorised into these on the basis of the presence of labour in the household. The support from federal government was given to those who stayed at home and who could not go out, this includes old people. People on emergency support were those who can do simple labour works. In PSNP what was given to the community members was grain, in emergency aid there was FAFA. In some cases there was also peas. Children under five with severe malnutrition were given FAFA and oil.

Frost is a usual phenomenon that affects crops in tabia Harresaw. It reduces the amount of yield from crops. The worst type of frost damages the leaves of eucalyptus trees. During the frost people get deep sores in their skins which makes them have difficulty to work. People also get cold and become sick. There is no time that frost affected the place in a severe way.

There was flood in 2011.The flood was caused by after it rained continuously for 4 hours. It rained on 21st of July from 2pm-6 pm. In the area the usual maximum time it continues raining is one hour. The flood destroyed crops in farm lands, it destroyed terraces made by PSNP public works. It affected all the kushets in the tabia but kushet Harresaw was severely affected by the flood. The flood did not harm people and animals.

Even though there was no solution for what had been damaged by the flood, other water and soil conservation work was done by PSNP and other public works. In PSNP the youth do not participate since they prefer to migrate. For this heavy work on water and soil conservation activities still remains to be done. The youth get about 1000 birr per week in Afar region.

There is a crop disease called Humedia (rust). It damages beans, peas and wheat. As the respondents said It comes from the sky and it makes crops as though they are burnt with fire. It affects crops when they ripen. It does not affect crops when the crops get rain showers because the rain water washes off the humdia. This is common and it affects all the three kushets equally. There is no specific time that it damaged crops significantly.

There was pest invasion in caulis and onion. This pest on vegetables happened in 2009. The pests were within the vegetables and it prevented them from growing further. It destroyed vegetables. There was spray to prevent it but there was a delay in bringing it to the tabia. The spray came after the vegetables got destroyed. Even after it came it was not distributed to people, it was not provided based on the amount that people wanted. People were expected to go to the rural development office by grouping themselves and this took them longer. Even at the beginning before the start of the pest spraying could prevent it but there was not any from the rural development office. This happened mainly due to scarcity of water. There was no other crop pest that affected Harresaw since 2005.

There was an epidemic in 2010 in Harresaw kushet. About 20 people died from the epidemics and one of them was an 18 year old bride. The distribution of the illness was dispersed. The case was reported to the wereda health office and they came to assess the area. After assessing the situation they advised the community members to keep their hygiene and sanitation but they did not give details of the epidemic. The cause of the epidemic remained unknown to the community even though health personnel from the wereda said it was caused by poor hygiene and sanitation. Those people with the illness were bedridden for 3-7 days and died eventually. The symptoms of the illness were vomiting, diarrhoea, fever and loss of appetite.

People of Harresaw tabia were disturbed by the noise of volcanic eruption that happened on the Afar and Eritrea border. This earthquake in Afar happened in 2011.

### Economic events

New product introduced to the community is apple. It was introduced in 2005 but it has started to give fruit in the last two years. New livelihood technologies that were introduced to the community are stina (get water to the top by pushing pedals with foot), drip irrigation, and modern beehives. Drip irrigation and Stina were introduced in 2006.They were introduced by the government through the agriculture office. They are very beneficial to those who use irrigation. Improved beehive was introduced in 2007 by the agriculture office. People use improved beehive because it yields more production. There is the use of compost as a fertiliser and this started since 2008.

There is no employment opportunity but there was new job opportunity that came through PSNP and it was in 2007.People were screened for this based on their economic status. The screening was done based on a quota that came through the wereda. Food or cash is given for PSNP public works.

There was mass migration to Saudi Arabia in 2008 due to famine caused by drought. Many youth migrated. In 2003 people were strongly encouraged to take credit from Dedebit micro finance. Unpaid credit during the drought was also a factor in the migration. There were also people who migrated to Afar region. Those youths who migrated to Afar stayed not more than 5 months then they came back and asked their parents to give them additional money to go to Arab countries. In Arab countries people stay a minimum of 3 years if they are not dismissed. People who go to Afar come successfully except that some of them get caught with malaria. Those who go to Arab countries face a lot of challenges since it is illegal migration. They face long travel, hunger, sinking in seas and extremely hot weather. Women also experience rape on their way to Arab countries. There are many people who die on their way to Saudi Arabia.

There is no new commercial investment in tabia Harresaw. The change in land use since 2005 is that more people with irrigable land are using it by themselves and becoming productive. The land that was not properly used because the owners are somewhere else leading a successful life and the land of those government employees with more than 1000 salary started to be given to landless youths. This land policy started to be implemented in 2010.

There is a new micro finance called Dedebit that has been operational since 2003.There is also a new saving and credit scheme which started in 2011.Members contribute 20 birr monthly and there are some members who have accumulated about 600 birr so far. Men and women can be members of the saving and credit scheme. The scheme has not started to give credit so far.

There is a new transport means for the community. People go to the nearest town on foot because it is quite near. There is also transport from Atsbi to Dera. This public transport started since 2008. There is car to Dera on Tuesdays and Saturdays which are both market days in Dera and Atsbi respectively. There is transport from Atsbi to Harresaw on contract basis. It is 10-11 birr from Atsbi to Harresaw. There is no direct transport from Atsbi to Harresaw but it is after walking on foot from Harresaw to the main road that goes to Atsbi and Dera.

There was not any big fund raising that took place in Harresaw tabia.

### Social events

There was inauguration of the tabia hall. It took place in 2011 and 3 oxen were slaughtered for the inauguration. The hall was constructed through contributions from the community. The community contributed grain from PSNP and emergency support. It was 1kg of grain for one person. The wereda gave 2000 birr and 20 bags of cement to be used for the construction of the tabia meeting hall. Tabia officials, community members and wereda officials attended the inaugural ceremony of the tabia hall. The tabia hall is constructed in the tabia office compound.

There were white visitors who came to visit rock hewn churches in the tabia. They came repeatedly to the church called Mariam Megdeline and Mariam wa-ayti. The visitors came to visit the churches and took pictures of the churches.

The biggest meeting in the community was in the 2008 election. There was a big meeting to give orientation about the election.

There is conflict within gots in tabia Harresaw. The gots are Endagebriel and Ekunta. The Ekunta have church and still they want to add another church. Whereas there is shortage of land in Endagebriel. Endagebriel got is the place where tabia administration, health post and FTC are located. The beneficiaries of the aforementioned services are all people from the three kushets. In 2011 when land was to be given to youths a new policy came which says land distribution should be made within gots instead of kushets. At this time those in Endagebriel said the distribution should be made by merging the two gots because land is already taken from Endagebriel for various government services. The tabia administration, the wereda administration and the community representatives were involved. Currently the Ekunta got administrators gave land for about 40 people in their got but not for others. There is a complaint that those judges are also from Ekunta got.

There is a recurrent conflict between kushet Harresaw and the bordering Afar region. The cause of the conflict is the forest and green area found on the border between Afar and Harresaw. Every year before the month of February it is good but after that the Afar come to grazing areas near to Harresaw and cut trees. They also need the green area for grazing. The tabia administration and the wereda administration always get involved but there is no final solution except getting a solution for the short term.

There is also a conflict between kushet Harresaw and tabia Gebre kidan. The reason for this is also grazing land. This happened in 2008; tabia administrators and community elders participated in the conflict resolution. The community elders played a great role in the conflict resolution process. The negotiation is still going on. The solution is only short term.

The peace negotiation is as mention earlier.

### Cultural events

After the introduction of education since 2007 women have come to realise what they can do.

New leisure activities that came to the tabia are watching TV. The TVs have DVD players and satellite receiver dishes. TVs came since 2007 and there are 5 TVs and 4 satellite dishes in the tabia. The TVs are found in the centre of the tabia. Youths 19-25 in age usually entertain themselves by watching TV. Most of the people in the community prefer wrestling shows and dramas.

There is a change in the type of clothing girls and women wear. Since 2008 girls started to wear trousers. Adult women also started to wear trousers under their dresses.

There are changes in what people eat. In the past staple foods for the community were porridge and Tihilo. But steadily they are adopting to eat kita, injera and bread. The change came since 1990 but there is no other change since 2005.There is no change in the way people eat. There is nothing called adult or children eat first. People eat their share because they cannot eat together for they go to different places at different times. Children go to school, fathers go to work or market.

 There is no important customary change in tabia Harresaw.

There is no new job opportunity and no change about jobs but people are becoming interested in producing marketable products. Many youths are also interested in working in cooperatives and migrating to Arab countries. The change came since 2008.

There are no new domestic work ideas at all but people have better hygiene than before. The fact that animals eat at home added additional work for women because they have responsibility to feed the animals in the absence of husband and children.

New kinds of household goods are beds, movable ovens, and plastic materials instead of materials made from clay. There is distribution and use of selected ovens. These new ovens save fuel. Use of beds become more common since 2008. More people are also using metal pots instead of clay pots; metal kettles and more glasses.

There was start of bed nets since 2009. The HEW distributed bed nets to the community members who live in places susceptible to breeding of mosquitoes.

There is the use of torch as a lamp by extension cable. It is made to have on and off button. `Most households have one torch as a fixed one as a lamp at home and the other one movable when they move from place to place. This is made locally by youths in the community. The youths tend to use newer materials when compared to the older ones. The use of torch as a lamp started in 2009.There is also the use of kerosene stoves and this is usually found in ex-fighters' households.

The use of metal roofs was started since 2005 Still the majority of the houses are made from soil, woods and leaves. The metal roof houses are concentrated in the centre of the tabia. Metal roofs are very rare in the other parts of the tabia. There are very few houses with coloured paint. The painting of houses started in 2010.

Regarding new leisure activities, in 2007 TV came. People watch TV to entertain themselves. Most of the people who use TVs are male youths. In addition to entertainment people use TVs as a source of information by watching news. People watch TV in tea rooms. The youth and others prefer watching wrestling. People also use mobile phones for FM radio and listening to songs. This became prevalent in 2011. Some people use them in groups, others individually.

Corombulla came in 2010. There is one corombulla and it is used by male youths in the tabia.

Use of bicycles started in 2010. There were people who use to train others with payment. There are about 8 bicycles in the tabia. And most of these are found at the centre of the tabia.

People migrate and some get government job opportunities. People also go outside of the tabia to search for jobs.

The way people think and do is being changed from the traditional to the urban way of thinking, use of household goods, use of variety foods and clothing. This change is increasing over time. People are having better communication between themselves and people living outside because of the use of mobile phones. People's production is becoming market-oriented.

Michael, Bealemariam, Bealegziabher, Saturday and Sunday are fixed holidays. There are also others which are not known by the community but respected by people closer to the church. There is a tendency to work on the agreed upon holidays whenever there is a need to feed livestock. Cutting grass is not allowed on holidays but people lack grass to feed their livestock so they transgress the rule. This happens now because free grazing land is prohibited. This become prevalent since 2008.. There is no other change regarding religion or religious practices. Previously it was said that there will be free grazing land three times a year but this has not been implemented; in 2008 it was said that there is no free grazing land but give cattle food by keeping them at home.

Priests in churches serve for free and nowadays they are saying ‘we will work outside and we will get an income’. Many of deacons went to Saudi Arabia. There is a fear that churches may be closed if the trend continues like this. There is big threat especially in tabia Maiekl. There was more migration of deacons since 2010.

Since 2008 the youth went to get higher education and get employed. Youths want to be involved in jobs other than agriculture. The youths expect a big change with the completion of Hidase (renaissance) dam. There is also a hope that there is gasoline in Dalol which is quite near to the tabia. This information was distributed in 2008 but there is no further information now.

Migration of male and female youths to Saudi Arabia has become so common since 2008. There is a change in the migration route to Saudi Arabia. Previously it was illegally through Afar and crossing the sea. Now there is also the opportunity to go to Arab countries via Addis Ababa and Djibouti. The youths do not want to think about leading a life in agriculture.

Since 2006 local clothing style is being changed. This change in clothing is observed even among older people. The traditional cloth made from cotton spun at home is used on religious holidays. Many people use factory made clothes which are locally named as nayferengi kidan. This literally means white man's clothes. They prefer these factory made clothes because they are easy to work putting them and they are also easy to wash. This change in clothing style is observed among males and females.

In weddings there is a decrease in the amount of wedding festivities. The type and amount of clothes given to a bride is increasing over time. Since 2000 EC huge expenditure on wedding is decreasing.

### Political events

Since 2010 the government started development groups of men and women in order to implement various government interventions.

Elections were carried out two times in 2005 and in 2008. All community members who are capable of voting voted. Even the blind and the elderly participated in the elections. There was high community participation in the elections.

Business plan reengineering (BPR) came to the tabia in 2011. In 2009 a permanent policeman was hired for the tabia, previous to that it used be tackled by the peace committee.

A tabia manager was appointed to tabia Harresaw in 2008. The salary of the chairperson was stopped since 2008.

In the past there was only the social court which dealt with appeals. Now keeping the social court as it is, land judges are added to deals with land cases. The three land judges started in 2007 together with the establishment of land administration.

## Livelihoods – changes in the last five years

### Marketing outputs

When compared to 2005 currently there is an increase in the amount of grain people sell due to use of fertiliser. People are selling many more potatoes than they used to sell in 2005. Previously production of potatoes was not well known, people used to bring potatoes from outside. Production and selling of legumes has also increased to more than it was in 2005.These legumes include beans, flaxseed and peas. Selling milk is not common in tabia Harresaw.

There is a big increase in the selling of vegetables from what it used to be in 2005. People are producing various kinds of vegetables and they provide them to the market. There is an increase both in the type of vegetables they produce and the amount they produce. The increase in the sale of vegetables came as a result of the expansion of irrigation activities. Caulis, carrot, tomatoes, onion and green pepper are commonly produced and sold in markets. People are also selling apples more than in 2005. Production or use of chat is not known in tabia Harresaw. There is no coffee production in tabia Harresaw. There is more production of eucalyptus trees now than compared to 2005 and people are selling more.

There is more production of livestock now than in 2005. But there is a preference to keep the number of livestock lower and increase quality care for them. There is an increase in the production and selling of honey and butter when compared to the situation in 2005.There is more poultry production than in 2005.

Now there is an increase in the production of honey when compared to the situation in 2005.There is also an increase in the production of butter when compared to the situation in 2005.

### Buying inputs and consumption goods

Generally speaking the amount and type of food and other materials that the community members consume has increased in the past 5 years. This is related to having exposure to urban places.

People are buying more staple foods than in 2005.The buying and using of vegetables has increased significantly in the past 5 years. The consumption of meat among the community members has decreased when compared to the situation five years ago. The reason for the reduction of meat consumption is the big increase in the price of livestock. Those who rear animals also prefer to sell instead of consuming for themselves. In the area there is a religious holiday that is highly celebrated annually and this holidays is celebrated by slaughtering ox, cow or sheep. Nowadays people are forced to buy smaller kinds of livestock.

People are also consuming fewer eggs than before 2005. This is also due to a big increase in the price of eggs. There is no use of chat by people in tabia Harresaw. People consume more coffee than in 2005.

Nowadays people are buying and using more household goods. More people are also abandoning the use of traditional goods made from clay like pots, and water containers. Now people use jerry cans for water container, metal pots, kettles and many other plastic containers. This change comes as the result of people's exposure to urban areas and the interest to be like urban areas. People are also buying more fertiliser than in 2005. People are buying much more improved seeds than in 2005.The people use more fertiliser and improved seeds because they get more yield.

 People buy improved ploughs for a very expensive price but they buy it, they have no other choice. Once they buy it they use it for a longer period of time.

People are buying more modern beehives.

### Theft and burglary

At this time there is very rare theft of crops in tabia Harresaw and the change since 2005 is that the case is becoming less and less. There is 24 hours surveillance by the militia in the tabia in order to prevent theft and other crimes. Advice is also given to community members on preventing theft and other crimes. The measures are effective because crime and theft are not common in the tabia. People also want to work and change themselves instead of committing theft. Whenever there are such theft cases criminals are caught with the support of militia, police and support from the community. Theft cases are punished in the wereda court.

 There are many theft cases of mobile phones that happen at Dera and Atsbi markets and community members of Harresaw are affected but this does not happen in tabia Harresaw. This theft of mobiles is increasing a lot since the last two years. Women are targets of mobile phone theft more than men. As a means to prevent stealing people are advised to take care of their mobiles and other properties when they go to market places. They are advised to keep their property in safe places like on their chest after tying their vest with cloth.

The prevention is not that effective so far because most women keep their mobiles in their pockets that do not have zips to close them.

So far there is no one who got caught after stealing a mobile, it is difficult to get the thieves and no one has been punished for the theft of mobile phones.

House burglary is not known in tabia Harresaw. There are some cases of theft from irrigation farms. Vegetables and other things planted in the irrigation get stolen.

## Human re/pro/duction – changes in the last ten years

### Child-rearing changes

There are changes in child rearing practices in the tabia in the last ten years.

With regard to infant care people take their infants for vaccination, there is good hygiene care for their infants. Mothers also give more varieties of food to their infants when compared with the past ten years. Ten years ago taking infants to vaccination was made by the effort of health workers and teachings, now mothers understand the benefit of vaccinations and they have vaccinations of their infants up to 9 months.

Parents make equal treatment for boys and girls at the age group of 1-7 years. When compared to the situation of care for girls and boys of ages 1-7 years 10 years ago there is a much better condition now. Now parents buy better clothes, and school materials for their children of age 1-7 years of both sexes. They also take good care in feeding them. Some children of 5 and 6 years attend preschool education. Children start formal school at the age of 7 years.

Parents also make equal treatment for girls and boys aged 7-11 years. When compared to the situation of care that parents used to give to their children 10 years ago now is much better. Sending children to school has increased, children get better care in terms of food, clothes and school materials. Children are also advised to make them behave well. In the beginning of the last ten years children used to be made to behave well by beating them.

Adolescent girls and boys had better obedience in the past 10 years. At that time they had to obey their parents but now this obedience is declining over time. Instead of parents giving orders to their children now the interest of children is also considered. Now there is much better communication and understandings between adolescents of both sexes and their parents.

Currently older male and female youths want to work and support their families instead of being dependent on parents. Here more change is seen in older male youths than older females youths. Many older male youths become independent economically earlier than the older female youths. Female adults still stay a long time with their parents.

### Traditional medicine

Whenever people cannot afford to go to the health centre and when the illness is simple they use home treatment. Many people use home treatment but this has decreased in the last ten years. Many people go to a health service provider. There are herbs used by community members to treat simple illnesses. In the past ten years there is a decrease in the use of herbs. Some people use bone setters but many prefer to go to the health centre to treat their bones, this change came in the last ten years. The change came as a result of better access to health service providers and health education. There is use of holy water among community members. This depends greatly on the type of illness people face. Whenever there are infections or some other similar cases people go to health centres. Whenever it is possession by devil or unknown supernatural force the community members still prefer the use of holy water. There are no spiritual healers in the tabia and the tabia community do not use spiritual healers. Traditional abortion is not known in the tabia. Women go to health service providers when they want to abort.

The trend in the past ten years shows that the community members' health seeking behaviour has increased significantly. Many people are going to modern medicine, leaving the use of traditional medicine.

### Attitudes to education

Generally speaking there is a tremendous change in attitude of the community members towards girls and boys education. In primary school the change since 2005 is that many people from the community are sending their male and female children at the age of 7 years. As a result of this positive attitude parents send male and female children school age children to school. The community members are coming to know the benefits of education. There is not a good attitude towards education when students reach 7th grade because many students from the community fail to pass 8th grade and 10th grade.

 There is a change in attitudes to secondary school but they have a fear that their children may not continue to the higher level. Community members send their male and female children to the nearest towns. There is a problem for some people in sending girls far from the community. Even though there is a fear, girls go. Despite the willingness and practice of community members in sending their male and female children to high school, people are increasing in a sense of hopelessness about continuation to preparatory after tenth grade. This is because people invest in their children’s education and teach them but they fail to pass to secondary education and sit idle at home. This makes female and male children equal with those who do not go to school.

The community members have good attitude towards TVET because of its benefit but many children from the community do not have the chance to attend technical trainings given by the TVET.

Community members have a good attitude towards university education because they think that it makes their children able to get a job. There are a few children from the community who are studying in several universities of the country. There is good attitude towards boys' and girls' education.

## Social re/pro/duction – changes in the last ten years

### Marriage

Now the customary age of marriage for girls is 17 and 18 years. There are changes in the last ten years, at the time the age for girls to marry was 15. The change was registered with teachings made to the community in order to avoid underage marriage. The fact that girls are going to school has also contributed to the decrease of underage marriage. Teachings are given in schools to stop underage marriage. There is also a change in girls' perception towards education, they do not want to drop out of school.

The customary age of marriage for young men is 22. Here is also a change in the last ten years. Previously young men used to marry at the age of 18 years. Ten years ago it was easier to establish one's own household, now life is very expensive. Nowadays young men prefer to marry after they become economically strong, for this reason the age that they marry is older than in the previous times. Young men migrate to Saudi Arabia and other places to earn incomes.

There are three types of marriage. These are,

1. Traditional marriage

2. Marriage without making a signature

3. Civil marriage

In traditional marriage elders are sent to the girl's house and they ask the girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage. After they get acceptance the priest of the house gets them to make promises which is locally known as kalkidan. The two couples makes signature on paper. This type of marriage is legal before the law.

The second type of marriage is made without making signatures, just by the verbal agreement of the couples. Either parents of both couples or both couples become interested in the marriage and start to live together without signature on paper. This one becomes legal if the couples stay together for 3 years. After three years of living together the couples can share their properties equally if divorce comes.

The third type of marriage is civil marriage by which the couples go to concerned government office and make a marriage agreement supported by their signatures. This service is given at the wereda centre, Atsbi. The most prevalent marriage type in tabia Harresaw is the traditional one.

Most of marriages in the tabia have customary wedding ceremonies. The size of weddings varies depending on the economic status of the couples or their parents. Local food called tihilo is prepared for wedding ceremonies. The local alcoholic drink called siwa is also brewed for weddings. Animals are slaughtered also for the ceremony. The type and number of animals to slaughter varies according to the economic back ground of the parents. The well-to-do slaughter an ox for the wedding and the poor slaughter a sheep. There are also some who do not have a wedding ceremony.

The date for the wedding ceremony can be different in the bride’s family and the groom's family. First in the wedding the ox is slaughtered at the groom’s family. Then about 15-20 people go with the groom to bring the bride. This group of people are locally known as werad mer-a. At the bride’s house a sheep is slaughtered and they send the bride with the groom after making blessings for the couple. After this the wedding ceremony is prepared at the bride’s house. During the wedding day an ox is slaughtered. At the wedding time when the bride goes she takes bread and araki (fabricated alcoholic drink).

In the wedding ceremony the groom is given money by his family. This is called mendi-e. He is given this money when he performs a traditional dance called telhit. The groom buys materials for the bride which is locally called shilimat. He buys this gift for the bride based on his wealth and based on his expectation of money from the bride’s family. This includes clothes, shoes and jewellery. When the groom takes this to the bride's house the bride’s family makes sure that all necessary materials are available in what the groom has brought.

During the wedding ceremony prepared in the bride’s house both the groom and the bride perform a traditional dance called telhit and they are given money by the family. This money given from the bride’s family is also called mendi-e. The amount of money given to the groom is based on his expenditure made to buy a gift for the bride. Some parents give more than the groom’s expenditure on the bride’s gift. For example, if the gift from the groom to the bride is estimated to be 6000 birr they add 2000 birr and give him a total of 8000 birr. After the wedding ceremonies of both families there is a ceremony called melsi. At this time the bride and the groom spend 3-4 days at the bride’s house until a ceremony called mikila-e, this literally means unveiling or disclosing. The groom brings a sheep and it is slaughtered for this ceremony. He also brings perfume and Areki for the ceremony. The perfume is sprayed on everyone in the ceremony. Araki is also given to all participants in the ceremony. During the ceremony the groom is given money from the bride’s closer family and closer friends. The amount of money varies from 400 birr to 2000 birr. This amount of money is much less than the one given during the wedding ceremony. The main purpose of this ceremony called mikila-e is to give him money and make him feel free. After this ceremony he is like any other family members, he is not supposed to be shy. After this ceremony he leaves the bride behind at her family's house and comes back on the third day and brings coffee and sugar with him. After such kind of comings and goings he finally takes the bride to live with him. This can happen 4-12 months after the wedding day. Sometimes he can also leave her with his parents and go for work to an Arab country or other places for work. He also takes the bride for 3-4 months before they announce that they live together. The reason that he gives to her family is to feed her.

Whenever the groom wants to take the bride as his wife forever he asks again for marriage that means to allow him to take the bride to live with him forever. When the bride goes to the groom's house for the last time she takes bread with her. There are also some who take areki with them. The groom takes the bride on a mule's back. The bride’s mother follows her daughter and takes dishes, cooking pot, jebena (clay pot used to boil coffee), cups, traditional handicrafts made with grass, ground pepper, shiro (powder used to make stew which is prepared from roasted beans and peas) and other things.

The change in customary weddings is that the amount of money given by the couple's family has increased significantly in the last ten years. Change in the past ten years is that in the past the jewellery given to the bride was made of silver or bronze but now it has changed in to gold. Still those who give completely gold jewellery for their bride are very rare. Those who have worked for some time in Saudi Arabia buy gold as a gift for their bride. Those who can afford to buy jewellery made from gold, those who cannot afford gold buy silver. The number of dresses given to the bride has also increased a lot in the past ten years.

The cost of a customary wedding is 10,000 birr-30,000 birr. The cost of a customary wedding has increased significantly in the last ten years. The increase in cost is because of the increase in living costs and because of increase in the type and amount of materials required for the customary weddings. Those who cannot afford to have weddings also borrow and have weddings. In weddings families of both assist with money for the wedding. During the wedding day families and friends take money to the wedding. People take 5-10 birr in wedding invitations. This is included in the money given to the couple. There is no change in the last ten years with regard to financial support from friends and relatives. The difference in what the couples get from families and friends during the wedding day is that the grooms father can take money collected from relatives and friends for himself. In the case of the bride's parents they have to give all the money they are given by the relatives and friends to the groom. They take even though the cost of weddings has increased; the income of the community members in general has increased significantly because the price of agricultural products that they produce has increased.

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### Widowhood and divorce

In tabia Harresaw there has never been marriage to dead husband’s brother or dead wife’s sister. Whenever a husband dies the widow takes care of the all the property and her children if she has children from her deceased husband. Nobody claims the property of the deceased husband. If the woman gets married to another person and if she does not have children, the deceased husband’s relatives ask the woman to give them their brother’s share. This share is half the property in most cases this includes land if the deceased person had land. The widowed gives the share to her deceased husband’s relatives. The same applies whenever a wife dies. There is no change in the last ten years with regard to customary rights of widows.

Divorces are not very frequent in the community. There are about ten people who got divorced. The change with regard to divorce in the past ten years is the decrease in number over time. Couples want to work and improve themselves together instead of getting a divorce. There is better communication between married couples than there was ten years ago. There are many married women whose husbands have migrated and work in Arab countries. These women are mostly found in kushet Harresaw.

When married couples get divorced both have equal rights to share property if the marriage is legally recognised. In the case of land they take what they had at the beginning of the marriage or if they got land after they got married still they take their own land. The change in the last ten years with regard to customary rights of divorced women is that now there are better rights for women. In the past ten years women were denied an equal share of their property. Currently the rights of a divorced woman are respected. Those local elders who deal with such cases also have enough knowledge about the rights of women in marriage. There are some cases of men who hide their wealth during divorce and women share only what is visible in kind. There was one case where a husband came from Saudi Arabia and a wife stayed in the tabia. After the husband came to the tabia he asked for divorce by hiding the amount of money he brought from Saudi Arabia. They got divorced through the involvement of local elders. The elders made them to get shared based on the amount of money the husband said he had. After the divorce the man went to another town and married another woman with an expensive wedding ceremony by buying gold for the woman.

People who get divorced can remarry but this is not common nowadays. The number of people who marry has significantly decreased in the past ten years.

### Death ceremonies and inheritance

When a person dies he gets buried soon. They do not stay for more than a day. People are sent to different places to tell families and friends about the death of a person. Nowadays there is a big change when compared to the last 3 years because many people have mobile phones so communication has become much easier. There is no need to go to remote places unless they have no network coverage. Labour and time is saved because of the presence of mobile phones. In Harresaw there is a problem of network coverage. Family members stay in the mourning house up to 12 days. The household whose family member is dead mourns up to the 40th day since the death of the person. There is no change with this.

All community members in tabia Harresaw follow the Orthodox Christian religion, and ceremonies following death are mostly related to the church rules. After the death of a person there is a customary ceremony called fithat (prayer for the death). This ceremony is performed at church by priests and deacons. This ceremony is performed on the 7th, 12th , 30th, and 40th days since the death of the person. The fithat ceremonies performed on the 7th and 12th days are similar but the one on the 30th is different because more food is taken to the church. One jerrycan of siwa and lunch is taken to the church for those who participate in the ceremonies performed at the church. The fithat done at the 40th day is very huge when compared to the previous ones and it is called teskar. This ceremony is huge and it is performed for the commemoration of the dead. At this time deacons from the different churches come to the home, an ox or sheep is slaughtered. There are people who spend up to 17,000 birr for this death commemoration. There is no change with regard to procedures and numbers of death ceremonies. There is a change in what people spend on death ceremonies. A significant number of people are having death commemoration ceremonies with less expenditure but there is an increase in cost because of sky-rocketing prices in living costs.

When a man or a woman dies their property is inherited by their children. If they do not have children their property is given to their parents. If they have no parents their property is given to their siblings. In the case of land it is dealt with under government rules and regulations. In the last ten years there is no change with regard to customary inheritance practices.

### Holidays

Holidays when farming is not done in tabia Harresaw are 12th, 29th and 21st days of all months, Saturdays and Sundays. On these days farming and cutting of grasses from grazing land lots are prohibited. There are also holidays on which farming, cutting of grasses and PSNP public works are prohibited in some kushets. This is usually based on the names of churches found in their kushets. This includes Cherkos, Rufael, Abune Aregawi, The Holy Trinity and St. Gabriel. Those who live in got Enda gebriel celebrate St. Gabriel's day. Those in got Ekunta celebrates St. Rufael’s day. Some of this used to be celebrated in the previous times before ten years. The church still teaches that these should also be celebrated in all the tabia community.

There is an annual holiday called Meskel which is celebrated to commemorate the finding of the true cross by Queen Ellena. Most people celebrate Meskel mostly in groups, there are also some who celebrate Meskel individually. When celebrating in groups people contribute money to buy and slaughter an animal. There are some Meskel feasts which stay up to three days. People slaughter an ox, sheep or hen depending on their wealth status. Some people also celebrate Meskel in their lineage members. The change in the lasts ten years in Meskel celebrations is that there is a huge increase in the price of livestock so that most people cannot afford to buy an ox or cow like in the previous times. Currently the common animal to slaughter for Meskel is a sheep in a group and hen individually.

When people celebrate Meskel in a group only men go to the feast. Women who are married do not go to the Meskel feast. In rare cases a woman can go if she has silit (promise to give something if something gets fulfilled on that day) in cash or material. When a wish is fulfilled a woman can go and participate in Meskel festivals to give what she promised. There are also very rare cases that women go to the feast especially if they are female headed household. In Meskel there is a ceremony called Mi-equak which is performed one day earlier than Meskel. In this ceremony cows go to the place where this ceremony is performed before they get milked. Children also go to this place and they are given milk and they are anointed with butter. After this a sheep or a goat is slaughtered and the blood is sprinkled on the cattle.

The government has worked to reduce the number of holidays when people do not work. The government says people are getting starved because there are many holidays when people do not work on those days. The government also works to reduce the amount of expenditure on celebrating holidays. The teaching of government to reduce holidays is not as intense as it used to be in the past ten years. In the past, baptism day used to be celebrated by going to a priest having 10 birr or 5 dishes of grain. Now it was said that this is should be stopped so most people have stopped going to priests by having grain or cash.

### Work and other exchanges

There are no large work parties in tabia Harresaw. Nowadays there is a government structure which is called a network. It is a group of five households and people have started to do farming activities in groups. This introduction of new structures by the government was in 2011. In this network people are supposed to work together in weeding and other agricultural activities which need intensive labour.

There was what is called ofera when a man works for his fiancé’s family. Either he works by himself or he works by taking other people with him. He takes up to 10 people to work with him. His fiancé’s family prepare food and drink for those people who come to work. It has been about 6, 7 years since such kind of work relation has stopped.

Inputs for ploughing farm land are two oxen and men to do the ploughing. When two people have one ox each they cannot plough using one ox so they make arrangements by contributing one ox and plough their land with the two oxen at different times. This arrangement to solve scarcity of oxen is locally called lifinty. This practice is common and no change in the last ten years.

There is share cropping due to absence of either of land, labour, improved seeds or fertilisers. When one has land but no seeds then another one comes and sows on the land and gives half of the crop to the land owner. The one with the seed also does all the labour from the beginning up to the harvest of the crop. In the last ten years sharecropping is decreasing because there is credit service to buy improved seeds and ox. For female headed households who have an able bodied son, he ploughs for her, if she has relatives they can help her in ploughing. If she has no one to plough she does not need to give it for share cropping because she can use daily labourer for various farming activities. There are a few people who give their irrigable land for crop share, it can be grains or it can be vegetables. This sharing on irrigation activities is decreasing because people have come to understand the benefits of irrigation and this change came starting from 1997 EC.

Previous to 2004 there was share rearing of livestock in tabia Harresaw but this does not exist any more.

### Dispute resolution

Most of the intra household disputes are between husband and wife. The change in dispute resolution in general is giving decisions within short period of time. The community elders were given training in 2011.The training they took was on how to resolve disputes, how to give immediate decisions, how they make closeness between opponents. Whenever there are disputes between household members first the local elders ask both sides about the quarrel. According to the local elders they categorise the dispute in to three

1. Big and deep rooted problem which cannot be easily resolved but the couples are advised to divorce before they reach worst stage.

2. Simple quarrel which does not have strong reasons and they are made to communicate and solve their problems.

3.The third one is that one side has harmed the other and the one who harmed is asked to admit her/his problem and ask to be excused by the other side. These categories of people are also supposed to forgive one another and continue their married life. If the one who made mistakes does not admit his/her mistakes he/she will be given time.

Credit is also source of conflict in marriage when the husband borrows without telling his wife. Since 2011 there is no credit without the consent of the wife.

There is a change with regard to property sharing during divorce. Currently property is shared into three if the couple have children. One share is given to their children, the second to the husband and the third is given to the wife. After the division of property children choose where to stay which is usually with the mother and take their share to the parent that they choose to live with. This started since 2005. The elders say that children usually stay with their mothers. In the previous cases there was no share for the children.

Inter household disputes are caused mainly over land. This case can be solved by local elders. The tabia administration does not resolve disputes without the active participation of the local elders. A land dispute is first approached by local elders; if the case is beyond their capacity the two parties go to the tabia land judges. There is an increase in land related disputes due to scarcity of land. The tabia administration is always a bystander in resolving disputes but sometimes it gives directions. It was since 2007that the land affairs office started to take care of land related cases. The land affairs office also participates with local elders in dispute resolution. There are disputes that are allowed to be concealed by community elders. These includes,

1. Marriage disputes

2. Land disputes

3. Any dispute between neighbours

The government does not allow the community elders to conceal cases that include murder, rape and theft. There is no change in the dispute resolution.

### Social support to vulnerable people

Family is an important source of social support to vulnerable people. Family members support each other when their relatives face problems but the support they give is not sustainable.

Neighbours give support to vulnerable people but this is not as strong as support given by family. The support from neighbours stays only for a very short period of time. There is no change about support for poor people from neighbours. There was a charity giving organisation called Adonay. The organisation gave support to vulnerable people in the form of free aid and in the form of loans. Currently the charity organisation is not operating in the area. There are not many community institutions and those which exist have limited roles in giving social support.

The Adonay project came in 2009 and gave 1500 birr of which 1000 birr as a loan so that the people will use it to buy sheep or other things to improve their living status. They also gave 500 birr as a support for poor and vulnerable people.

There was an NGO called World Vision that was supporting vulnerable people which includes people living with HIV/AIDS, orphans and blind. World Vision has stopped operating in tabia Harresaw.

Government support given to vulnerable people is through PSNP and emergency aid programme.

There were different food for work programmes in the past but PSNP came in 2005 on a continuous basis. Everyone in the community is involved either in PSNP or in emergency support. There 20 households who got graduated from PSNP.

In terms of relative importance FFW programme by the government is assisting many vulnerable people. Especially the one called federal support targets people who are very weak elderly, orphans and the disabled people.

In terms of relative importance government support including FFW is first, second support from family members, third neighbours, fourth NGO, fifth charity and lastly community institutions.

### The informal social protection system

Households get informal social protection from relatives, neighbours, friends and grown up children. The extent of the support is better as the relation gets closer with blood relationship. Husband's and wife's kin provide important support for a household but this depends on the type of closeness they have. In most cases wife's kin give more support. There is no change with the way husband's and wife's kin give support.

Grown up children give support to their families better than anyone else. The change in the last ten years is that many youths are going to Arab countries and some of those who went to Arab countries are giving better support to their family.

Neighbours borrow from each other and they eat together on holidays. The support between neighbours is not huge and it solves problem only for short period of time.

Friends also support each other in a better way than with neighbours. Nowadays if one person goes to Arab countries and becomes successful he sends money to his friends and make them migrate to Arab countries. The support among friends is increasing over the last ten years.

### Advantages of inclusion in community leaders’ networks

The most important thing in staying in the network of tabia and sub-tabia leaders is having better access to information and new developmental activities in the tabia. People also know how things go in the tabia. People know about their rights and how to deal with it when they are denied their rights.

Having a network with wereda officials is good since there is an information gap in the tabia community when they go to wereda offices. Having the network with the wereda office helps to fill this information gap.

Having networks with tabia officials is the most important because many things are related to tabia officials.

There are many people who are not in the network of tabia leaders, sub-tabia leaders or wereda officials. These people communicate with the community leaders whenever they have reason that takes them to the community leaders. For these people they will not get the above mentioned benefits that those people in the network get.

The advantage of exclusion in the network is not attending frequent meetings. The changes in the last ten years is having a network with tabia officials was considered as a privilege but now many people are having enough information about what they want so the benefit of having networks with community leaders has decreased significantly over the past ten years. The community leaders are also supposed to treat the whole community in an equal way.

### Clan rules and roles of clan leaders

No clans in the tabia

### Lineage rules and roles of lineage leaders

There is a lineage system in tabia Harresaw. During the Haile Selassie regime this was very strong because there was a land ownership system called Rist so people from the same lineage used to be organised under this rist from their forefathers. Since the Derg regime this land holding system was changed into an individual land holdings system so the bond among the same lineages became weaker and weaker since then. The land distribution was done in 1975.

Members of the same lineage meet on different occasions. They meet either by programme or whenever there are family gatherings in mournings, weddings and religious holidays. Membership in a lineage is based on birth into a certain family.

There are also smaller lineage groups within a larger lineage when the larger one becomes so vast to communicate with lineage members. In the past people from the same lineage used to live in the same area because they shared the same rist but now they are scattered within the tabia and even out of the tabia. This scattered residence pattern came as a result of marriage and migration.

 Marriage within the same lineage is not allowed until the 7th generation but recently this is not practised by all lineage groups. There are people who allow marriage up to 6th and 7th generation. There are also a few people who stick to the original marriage rule up to the 7th generation. What makes the marriage weaker is youths from the same lineage who do not know each other and who live in other towns and establish an opposite sex relationship and marry. After that they come to the tabia as husband and wife, now the old people say that they are relatives, and now they say it has already happened, nothing can be changed. At this time others also take this and say it is nothing wrong to get married within a lineage of 6th and 7th generations. The occurrence of such cases and weak communication among the lineage members made the community accept marriage of relatives up to 6th and 7th generations. There are active lineages having a stronger bond. There are some elders who collect their lineage members and decide when to meet. They also set rules and regulations of their lineage. One out of the four lineages has rules on what to do when members get sick and during weddings of members. Those who do not stick to the rules and regulations set and those who marry with less than 7th generation are excluded from the lineage.

Lineage leaders play a great role in the various social life of community members. Dispute resolution between lineage members is one of the biggest roles played by lineage elders. They resolve disputes within their lineage. There are also social and economic supports among themselves. In some cases the lineage functions like an iddir.

The support is mainly in the presence of weddings and death commemorations. During the wedding of lineage members the other members contribute a locally brewed alcoholic drink called siwa. Nowadays such contributions are practised only among a few people in the tabia. During the death commemoration of a deceased lineage member flour is contributed, and an animal to slaughter and siwa. In the same manner as that of a wedding the number of people who assist their lineage members with food and drink is decreasing in a large way when compared with the previous times. The amount of contribution has also decreased significantly.

There is also a type of wedding called Tush. The use of the term is being minimised and now it is commonly known as mirikat which literally means blessing. At this time a girl at the age of 18-22 years who did not get the chance to marry is made to receive blessings from her family. This ceremony is done in a similar way to a wedding except that there is no husband. The lineage members and family members buy clothes for her, food and drink is prepared. An animal is slaughtered. The purpose of this type of wedding is to announce that she is free to have sexual intercourse. A girl who did such ceremony is undermined when compared to other girls who did not. This is so because she is expected that she may not be virgin. This practice has been reduced but still there are some cases. This practice is reducing since 2006.

In the well organised lineage there are 1. chairperson, 2. secretary, and 3. treasurer. Whenever there is a holiday to celebrate these people in leadership organise the lineage members and assign people to different activities. The strongest lineages have monthly meetings. They also assist their members who face various problems like illness of members. They make financial contributions to assist their members. Recently there was a lineage who celebrated Meskel holiday by contributing 100 birr. Nowadays the youth generations are those breaking the rules of lineages. There is an increase in the members of lineages. There is no change in roles played by lineages and lineage leaders.

### Religion

The religion of the tabia is 100% Orthodox Christian. There are a very few people from the tabia who changed to Muslim but they live in Afar region. They come to visit their relatives and for other family gatherings. In the last ten years there is no change with regard to the community members' religion.

### Community-initiated organisations

There is no community- initiated iddir in the tabia. The government initiated the establishment of iddirs. Iddir was initiated by the government together with the establishment of development groups. There are about three iddirs in tabia Harresaw but they are not functioning, they are in their establishment stage. In iddirs there is a monthly contribution of 1 birr. The purpose of iddir is to give information about government development, to support each other during mournings and illness of members. In iddirs the change is the increase in the amount of payment.

 The community members of tabia Harresaw are not very familiar with equb. Equb was started in 2010.

 Mahiber is quite common in tabia Harresaw and it is locally known as tsebel. These tsebels are composed of a group of people who get together to commemorate the dates of saints or angels. Women get together and drink Bealmeriam (Saint Mary's day). The usual number of tsebel members is 5-12 persons. There are rules and regulations set among tsebel members. In most tsebels there is a fine for those who delay in coming to the tsebel and to those who become absentees from the tsebel. There is a monthly contribution of 1 birr in most cases. Some tsebel groups give the contributed amount to churches. Others they use it for food and drink on that day. Some tsebels buy female sheep and breed them, after this some eat the meat, others sell and share the money. There are also tsebel groups who give loans to their members with interest.

There are so many tsebels that almost all community members participate in a tsebel. There are very few people who do not participate in tsebel. Most people drink Sunday and St. Michael. There is no community initiated organisation like senbete, herding group, oxen insurance, or women’s spinning and butter groups.

### NGOs and CBOs

There were two NGOs which were active in tabia Harresaw up to 2011. One of the NGOs that were operating in Harresaw was Adonay. It is a faith-based charity organisation which has its basis from Asira Metira monastery. It was giving support in the form of aid and loans. The loan was used for income generating activities. It gave money to buy sheep and 500 birr for poor people. It gave cash to people who were affected by severe hunger in order to save their lives.15 were given aid and 100 were given loans. The targets of the support were orphans, and people living with HIV. The amount of loan given was 1000 birr at the beginning and 1500 birr in the later phases. The loan was given in 2009. Adonay has stopped operating in tabia Harresaw since 2011.

The other NGO which was operating intensively in tabia Harresaw was World Vision. It was working on cattle rearing, selected seeds, and provision of FAFA for under 5 children. It also worked with male and female farmers on irrigation and introduced the production of potatoes. Currently World Vision is not operating in tabia Harresaw.

### Social cohesion

There is a high level of peace and security in the area. People are a bit sensitive in matters related to land. A new land policy in 2011 declares that people have to get land within got level. For the future this is a threat as it may affect the good relationship between people living in different kushets. Previously land used to be allocated within a kushet but now it is carried out within gots, this means at lower levels than before. Considering the previous land policy people in Endagebriel got have given land for tabia administration, FTC and HP. This was so because they can share land from the other gots that have refused to give land with the current policy.

The changes are that in the current generation people focus on their daily activities. There are also dispute resolution activities within development groups and lineage members so dispute cases are very minimal nowadays.

There is a good level of interaction and support across different groups in the community. And there is no change about it. People interact in tsebels, mournings, weddings and other religious holidays.

## Community management in 2011 – popularity of government interventions

### Infrastructure

There are roads which connect one kushet to another kushet. There is also a road that connects it with Atsbi. Harresaw is found off the main road. The roads within Harresaw are good in dry seasons. Sometimes It is a bit difficult to cross a wet grass field in the rainy season. There is a road from Ma-ekel kushet to Harresaw. Paving of roads is important because PSNP support comes to the tabia because there is a road. The presence of the road also lets an ambulance come to the kushets whenever there is emergency. Cars also come to Harresaw on contract basis whenever there are funerals.

### Land use

Land that used to serve only in the rainy season is now being used for irrigation activities. There is a change in the use of grazing areas. The rule of zero grazing land become tight in 2009.

### Environmental works

Environmental works done in the community are planting trees, making terraces and water and soil conservation activities which are done through PSNP public work and free labour works. The benefits of these environmental works are understood by the community. These environmental activities have a great role in preventing soil erosion and rehabilitating small gorges created by flood and soil erosion.

### Livelihood policies

Popular intervention in the area of livestock is the coming of hybrid ox and cow. This has brought a good change in the income of those who use it.

### FFW/PSNP

PSNP and emergency support is a very popular government intervention in tabia Harresaw. All members of the community were involved in either PSNP or emergency support but 20 households have recently graduated from PSNP. Since the area is affected by recurrent droughts the majority of the population largely depend on PSNP payments.

### Drinking water

There is no satisfactory coverage of potable water in the tabia. There is good access to potable water in got Ma-ekel. There is a serious shortage of water in Ekunta. There were cases of diarrhoea among women and children. There is also similar shortage of water at Harresaw kushet. For kushet Ekunta there was a hand pump water well made at Lim-at kushet to be used by people from Ekunta but the people from Lem-at kushet asked for replacement land for the land where the well is located and the area people walk to fetch water. People from Ekunta kushet refused to give exchanged land so they are not using the water planned for them. The case is taken to court, still there is no decision.

### Preventive health services

There is good intervention in preventive health service. There is good acceptance by the community. There is vaccination. There is also good follow up of pregnant mothers before and after delivery. Health extension workers take pregnant mothers to delivery at the health centre by skilled health workers. Construction and use of latrines is becoming common in the community. Community members who are found in places suitable for mosquito breeding are given insecticide treated nets and their house get sprayed.

### Curative health services

People are having better access to curative services in health centre and health post found in their tabia.

### Education

There are two schools in tabia Harresaw. There are children who go to schools outside their community. One of the two schools in tabia Harresaw is found near to the adjacent tabia G/kidan so it is far for students who live in remote villages. Small children do not want to go to far schools whenever there are frosts in the mornings.

### Harmful Traditional Practices

There is no female circumcision in the tabia. Cutting of uvula is prevalent in the tabia. Even though teachings are given to the community members to stop it the problem is still persisting. There is also burning of milk teeth with hot iron. There is small change but the change is not as desired.

### Campaign approach

There is a campaign approach to dry up stagnant water. This is done in places which are susceptible for mosquito breeding.

## Ideas in 2011

### Local modern repertoires

Progressives in Harresaw community are those who accept new things and technologies and new ideas. These people are those who have exposed themselves to other towns, those who were ex-fighters and those who have a post in coordinating the community. Also from the current generation those who have attained better educational status from the community are progressives. They accept new things. The government interventions that they are in favour of are use of fertiliser, improved seeds, health post construction and use of latrines, and good maternal and child care services at health providers. They are in favour of these because they have seen the improvement after these government interventions.

The government models which the progressives oppose are the education policy that makes many fail in the grade ten national examination. They oppose it because many parents send their children to school with big expenditure but their children cannot pass the tenth grade examination. They say that one factor that is making many youths migrate to Arab countries illegally is failing 10th grade.

### Local customary repertoires

People who do not want to change from the past way of thinking and way of doing are conservatives in the community. Most of the time the elders and women are conservative, they adhere to traditional ways of doing and thinking. Those have never been to formal education are the conservatives from the current generation. These people are in favour of fertilisers, and hybrid cows because they see visible improvements.

These people also oppose education policy which makes students fail from passing to preparatory class. These people oppose the use of improved seeds and other inputs from observing the experience of others. They do this because they have fear that it may fail.

### Incoming ideas

Recent key message is about the importance of working in network and development groups. People have got established in development groups and networks. There are some activities being done to work in networks. The recent key messages to the community is about the Hidase dam. It is expected to alleviate poverty in the tabia and other parts of Ethiopia. These are very influential in the community. The community members have decided how much to contribute for Hidase dam.

There are no ideas currently being promoted in the community by NGOs, local religious leaders, returning migrants or Diaspora connections. In the medias there is information about Hidase dam construction and its role to alleviate poverty. The construction of Hidase dam has taken the attention of many people in the tabia. The other is the reduction of deaths of mothers and infants due to complications that can be prevented by having delivery at health centres. This is influential to the community members so they call health extension workers to take them to health centre for delivery.

Recent message by the government is doubling production by using improved seed, fertiliser, and self-prepared compost. This message is influential, many people are working hard to double their production.